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THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY

R.E. ENTHOVEN

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME III



ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
NEW DELHI ★ MADRAS ★ 1990

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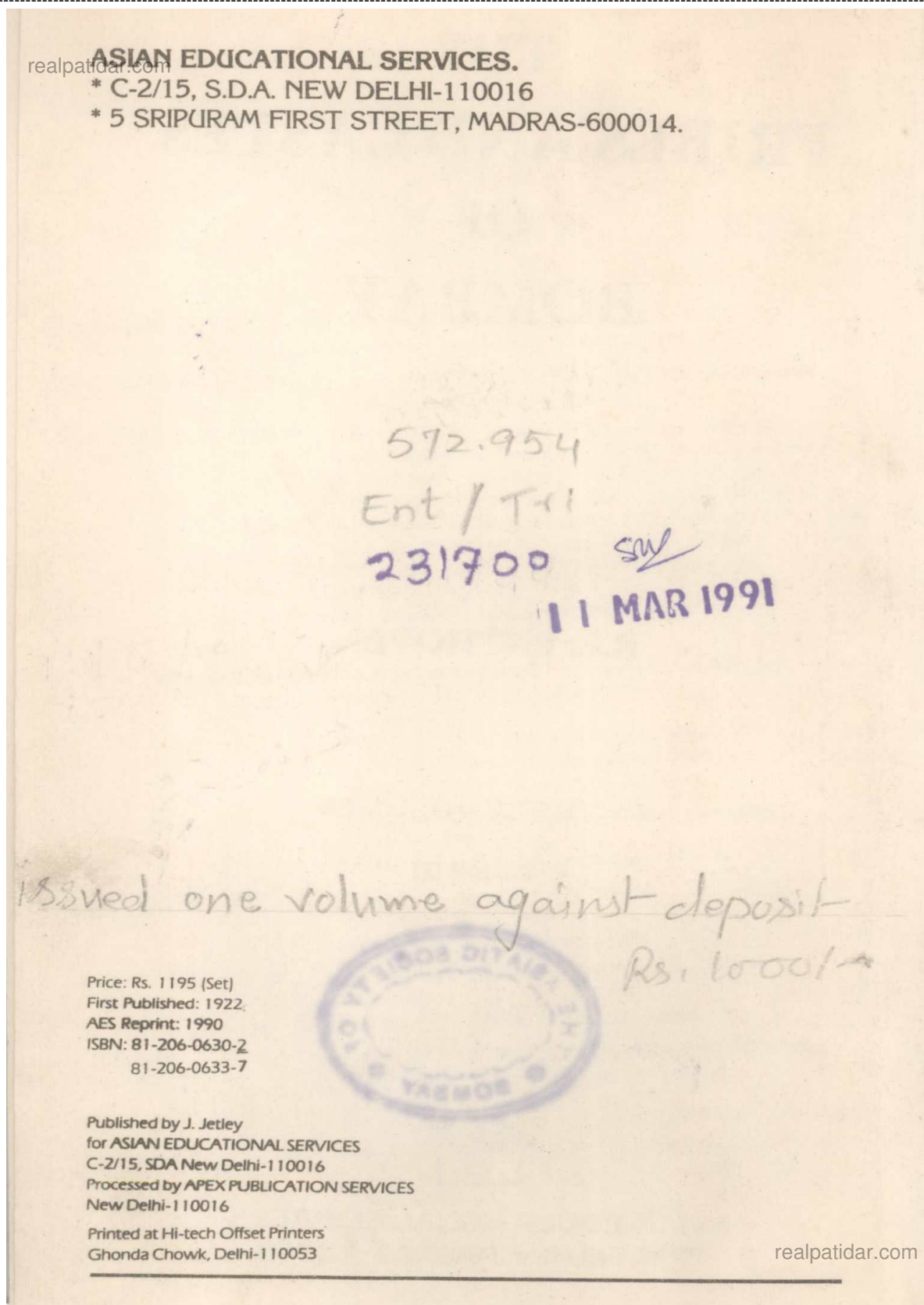
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Momin]

62

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abstain from both. They take *kacchi* and *pakki* from Bráhmans only.

MOGHA.—A synonym for Rabári.

MOLAVAR.—A sub-division of Khálpas.

MOLESALAM.—See under Minor Musalmán castes.

Name.

MOMINS * or Believers, also called Momnás in some parts of Gujarát, numbering 21,568 (1901), including 11,086 males and 10,482 females, are found in small numbers in all parts of the Presidency. They are divided into two territorial groups—Gujarátis and Deccanis or those found in the Deccan and Karnátak. They are described below separately.

GUJARAT MOMINS are the descendants of Hindus of many castes, converted to the Shiáh form of faith by different members of the family of Ismália Sayads, of whom Imámsháh (A.D. 1449) of Pirána is the most distinguished. Of their conversion two stories are told—one, that Imámsháh by bringing rain after two seasons of scarcity converted a large number of Hindu cultivators. The other, that a band of pilgrims were passing Pirána on their way to Benáres. Imámsháh offered to take them there. They agreed and in a trice were in the holy city. They paid their vows, bathed in the Ganges, and awoke to find themselves in Pirána.

Gujarát Momins have two divisions—Ahmedabadis and the rest. Most of them shave the head and wear the beard; but the Ahmedabadis spare the Hindu topknot and shave the face except the upper lip. Ahmedabadis wear the Vánia turban and in every part of their dress copy the Hindus. Other men wear a three-cornered Muhammadan turban and coat and either the Hindu waistcloth or trousers so loose as to give them the name of *Ghágaria* or petticoated Bohorás. The women, except a few in Surat, dress like Hindus.

Except the Ahmedabadi sect, all Momins intermarry, the Kázi of ordinary Musalmáns performing the ceremony. They are Shiáhs in faith. Except the Ahmedabad sect, they read Kutb-ud-din's Gujaráti *Kurán*, and as a prayer repeat their saint's name. The Ahmedabad sect, instead of the *Kurán*, read Imámsháh's book of religious rules and some of them are said stealthily to worship Hindu gods. Many Momins who are Shiáhs at heart profess to be Sunnis. But there would seem to be in Surat a small body of Momins who

* Momins must not be confounded with Momnas, a half Hindu half Muhammadan caste of cultivators found mainly in Cutch, although probably originally both may have formed one community as the story of their origin is identical. realpatidar.com



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really belong to the orthodox faith. These have lately separated though they still intermarry with their Shiáh connections. All practise circumcision and bury the dead. In other matters the customs of the Ahmedabad sect differ considerably from those of regular Muslims. Hindu names are common in North Gujarát though rare in the south, and while with ordinary Momins marriages take place according to the Musalmán rules, the Ahmedabad sect, in addition to the Musalmán marriage, call in a Bráhmaṇ and go through a Hindu ceremony. In North Gujarát, among all Momins, marriages take place at a very early age, sometimes before the children are weaned, and they follow the Hindu practice of holding a high festival when the bride comes of age and goes to live with her husband. At deaths, like Hindus, the women wail and beat the breast.

Gujarát Momins are silk and cotton weavers, dyers, cloth-dealers and husbandmen. In Kaira and other parts of North Gujarát many of them are said to have once been husbandmen. The women weave and prepare thread.

Almost all Gujarát Momins eat flesh, but for fear of offending the Hindus, whose wishes their position as weavers forces them to humour, they do not use it at their public dinners.

DECCANI MOMINS are said to be the descendants of Hindu converts of the Koshti or Sáli caste. They are said to have been brought to Islám by the persuasion of the Arab missionary Khwája Sayad Hussain Guisudaráj of Gulburga who lived early in the fifteenth century, and of Husham Pir Gujaráti of Bijápur who lived about the close of the sixteenth century.

The hereditary occupation of Deccani Momins is weaving. They marry only among themselves, and as the women are as hardworking as the men, some of them have two or even three wives.

Their manners and customs differ little from those of other Musalmáns. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and most of the old men are said to be religious and careful to say their prayers. Their spiritual head is the representative of Khwája Sayad Hussain, the saint who converted them. He visits them yearly or once every second or third year, when they give him presents of cash and cloth. The spiritual guide, on making a new disciple, teaches him the creed and gives advice about conduct. Besides the religious and moral teaching the guide gives each of the disciples a list of his forefathers back to saint Khwája. The disciple treats this list with the highest respect. He keeps it and values it as dearly as his life, and sometimes has it buried with him in the belief that the holy names will satisfy

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the angels and prevent them from torturing him in the grave. Some of them practise Hindu customs by keeping the usual Bráhmānic and local festivals and offering vows to Bráhmānic and local gods.

MOMNA.—A sub-division of Kanbis; a synonym for Momin.

MORI.—A sub-division of Vághris.

MOSAL.—A sub-division of Kabbaligars.

MOSALGAR.—A sub-division of Kabbaligars.

MOTA.—A sub-division of Chodhrás.

MOTALA.—A sub-division of Bráhmāns.

MOTINATH.—A sub-division of Audich Bráhmāns.

MUDALI.—A synonym for Mudliár.

MUDLIARS or Mudalis, numbering 837 (1901), including 424 males and 413 females, are found in Poona, Belgaum, Bijápur and Dhárwár. They are immigrants from Madras and belong to the Vellálás, the great cultivating caste of the Tāmīl country.⁽¹⁾

Name:

MUGHALS, numbering 27,682 (1901), including 14,804 males and 12,878 females, are found in all parts of the Presidency. They include two distinct classes—the Persian and the Indian or Chughadda Mughals.*

Persian Mughals are found chiefly in Cambay and Surat. They are the descendants of Persian political refugees and merchants. They always place the title *Mirza* 'born of a great man,' before their names, and add *Beg*, lord, as *Mirza Muhammad Beg*; the women add *Khánam* to their names, as *Husaini Khánam*. The distinctive features of the race are middle size, rather inclined to stoutness, light skins, hooked noses and clear features. Some have blue or grey eyes, and most have a humorous and intelligent expression. They are mostly Shiáhs in religion and have a name for carefully keeping the rules of their faith. Some of them are traders and the rest are in Government service. As they form a distinct community with their own places of worship, and as they generally marry among themselves, the Persian Mughals have fewer Hindu customs than most other Musalmáns.

Indian Mughals are found in small numbers in all parts of the Presidency. They appear to be the descendants of the Mughal conquerors of India, who penetrated into Gujarát and the Deccan, and have left many descendants where they once ruled. Like the Persian Mughals, the men always place the title *Mirza* before their names and

(1) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. V., p. 84.

* So called after the son of Changiz Khan.



add *Beg*, and the women add *Khánam* to their names. Except that they are fairer in complexion, they do not differ in appearance from ordinary Musalmáns. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, differing in no way from the great body of the Sunni Musámláns. Most of them earn their living as Government servants, messengers and police.

MUJPHADIA.—A sub-division of Gandhariás.

MUKRIS, numbering 5,082 (1901) including 2,486 males and 2,596 females, are found entirely in the district of Kanara. They are some times called Hebbe-gaudas or old Gaudas, the latter being a synonym of the Halvakki Vakkals. The precise meaning of this synonym is obscure, though it would seem to suggest some former connection between the Halvakki Vakkals and the Mukris. Name an origin.

There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. Their Divisions. exogamous sub-divisions, known as *balis*, are as follows :—

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. Kanne bali | .. Kanne = virgin. |
| 2. Tolana bali | .. Tola = a wolf. |
| 3. Shendi bali | .. Shendi = Toddy palm. |
| 4. Kavdchi bali | .. A tree = <i>Acacia speciosa</i> . |
| 5. Ane bali | .. Ane = elephant. |
| 6. Shirin bali | .. A tree = <i>Gynandropsis pentaphylla</i> . |
| 7. Shetti bali | .. Shetli or Shetti = a fish. |
| 8. Dyavana bali | .. Dyava = tortoise. |
| 9. Handi bali | .. Handi = pig. |
| 10. Hebbali bali | .. A tree = <i>Artocarpus hirsata</i> . |

The members of the Shendi *bali* will not touch toddy nor go beneath the shade of the toddy tree, and similarly with the Shirin *bali*, the tree is avoided and never injured. Members of the elephant division will not wear ivory ornaments. Descent of the *balis* is traced only through males. The fourth and last of these divisions seems peculiar to the Mukri and Moger castes. Others are common among Dravidian castes of Kanara.

The Mukris speak Kanarese. The names in common use among men are Bolla, Jetti, Bira, Maru, Durgu, Lingu and Nágu; and among women, Mari, Kanni, Jethi, Shivi, Yenki and Lingi. They have no stock names or surnames, but they add the word *Halli* or *Mukri* to their names.

The Mukris are a well-organized communities and have group-Organizational heads or *bárkas* and village-heads or *budvants*, each of whom has an



Murli]

72

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Their favourite gods are Khandoba, Bahiroba, Bhaváni, Jotiba and Satváí.

Occupation.

Murlis are prostitutes and beggars. In addition to the dress worn by Kunbi women, they mark their brows with turmeric powder and wear a necklace of nine cowrie shells. They generally go a-begging with two or three Vághe who beat small drums or *dafris*. The Vághe dance and the Murli sings songs, generally indecent, in praise of Khandoba. Some Murlis reside at Jejuri, while the rest wander over the Deccan in bands of three or four men and women, begging, singing songs, and playing on bells or *ghols*.

MUSALE.—A sub-division of Kolis.

MUSALMAN ⁽¹⁾ numbering 4,567,295 (1901), including 2,430,184 males and 2,137,111 females, are found throughout the Presidency. Many are immigrants or their descendants who came to the country as Muhammadans, from the eighth century onwards; others are converted Hindus who either joined Islám from conviction in response to the teaching of missionaries or responded to pressure applied by zealous Moslem rulers such as Mahmud Begada, Aurangzéb, and latterly the Mysore despots Hyder and Tipu.

The most important missionaries were :—

(1) Abdulláh, who founded the sect of Shiah Bohorás of Gujarát (A.D. 1067).

(2) Khájáh Muin-ud-din Chisti (A.D. 1165), who finally settled at Ajmere, where he made many converts and died in A.D. 1235.

(3) Sayad Muhammad Jaunpuri who came to Gujarát in A.D. 1509, claiming to be the Imám Mendi.

(4) Sháh Alam, the ornament of Mahmud Begada's reign (A.D. 1459—1513).

(5) Táhir the preceptor of Muzaffar II (A.D. 1513—1526).

(6) Imám Sháh of Pirána.

(7) Pir Mahabir Khandáyat, an Arab preacher, who came as a missionary to the Deccan about the beginning of the fourteenth century (H. 704 A.D. 1305) and is buried in the Ark Killa or citadel at Bijápur.

(8) Khwája Khunmir Husaini (1520).

(1) This article is based on K. B. Fazullah Latifullah's account in Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part II.

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(9) Sayad Muhammad Sádik Surmast Hasaoni (1568) ; and

(10) the Arab missionary Khwája Sayad Husein Gaisudaraz, better known as Khwája Mukdám Gesudaráz of Gulbarga, who, according to a Hindu tale, converted in the thirteenth century a large body of Momins or cotton weavers. The learned men were mostly invited by the Muhammadan rulers of Gujarát, notably by Muzaffar in A.D. 1395 and Mahmud Begada in A.D. 1471.

The proximity of the Bombay Presidency to Persia, Mesopotamia and Arabia has led to successive immigrations, which commenced with the Arabs many years before the birth of Muhammad (570 A.D.). The conquest of Northern India in the 12th century brought Musalmán power into Khándesh and Gujarát, while their capture of Daulatábád, the ancient Devgiri in the Deccan, leading to the establishment of the kingdoms at Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golconda and the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire spread their dominion over the remainder of the Presidency, including the Konkan.

Thus for a time a religion differing sharply from Hinduism in its attitude towards caste distinctions was the faith of the ruling dynasties throughout the Presidency. Immigrants and their descendants under the name of Sayads, Shaikhs, Mughals and Patháns formed one community, and though Sayads claim social precedence over the other three and prefer to marry with Sayads, there is no sort of prohibition, either by religion or custom, of intermarriage.

The position of converted Hindus, with regard to intermarriage is more difficult to define. Once converted, their religion permitted intermarriage freely ; but custom has been slow to follow suit. Of all the castes in which a Musalmán section is found it would seem that the following only are disposed to marry freely with all Musalmáns :—

1. Atár	..	.. Perfumers.
2. Barutgar	..	.. Firework makers.
3. Bedar	..	.. Fighting men.
4. Bhisti	..	.. Water carriers.
5. Dalál	..	.. Horse dealers.
6. Darzi	..	.. Tailors.
7. Gonivála	..	.. Grain dealers.
8. Hakim	..	.. Healers.
9. Kágzi	..	.. Paper makers.



Musalman]
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74

10. Kalaigar ..	.. Tinsmiths.
11. Kapshgar ..	.. Shoe makers.
12. Maháwat ..	.. Elephant drivers.
13. Maniár ..	.. Bangle makers and hardware dealers.
14. Náikvári ..	.. Fighting men.
15. Nálband ..	.. Farriers.
16. Patvegar ..	.. Tassel makers.
17. Rafugár ..	.. Cloth darners.
18. Rangrezi ..	.. Dyers.
19. Sárbán ..	.. Camel drivers.
20. Saikalgar ..	.. Armourers.

It is interesting to note that these castes represent almost entirely occupations that would be required by the camp followers of an army on the march, *e.g.*, elephant and camel drivers, farriers, water carriers, armourers, horse dealers, gunpowder makers and tinsmiths. Bedars, of course, are a well known fighting tribe, which with their northern branch or Rámoshis, would be well represented in any military camp. It may be that the close relations thus established between members of these castes and other Musalmáns helped to remove the prejudice against intermarriage on the part of these converts. In the table given below (p. 99) a selection from Kázi's records affords evidence of these intermarriages and would seem to show that the custom is spreading to certain other castes that do not admit such intermarriages being permissible.

Thus among Musalmáns we have three well defined groups :—

(1) Immigrants and their descendants known as Sayads, Shaikhs, Mughals, Patháns, Bohorás, Memons and Khojáhs.

(2) Hindu converts marrying freely with other Muham-madans.

(3) Hindu converts retaining their former prohibition of marriage outside the caste.

The first will be found described under separate articles (*see* Sayad, Shaikh, etc.).

They came first from Arabia as sailors, merchants and soldiers to the ports of the Konkan in great numbers. From the accounts of Sulaimán (A.D. 851) the earliest Arab traveller, it would seem that

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about the middle of the ninth century, the Balhára, that is, the Rásh-trakuta (A.D. 752—873) of Malkhed in the Deccan, then sovereign of the Konkan and Gujarát, was very partial to Arabs.⁽¹⁾ Al Masudi (A.D. 916) found Islám honoured and protected. "On all sides", he says, "rise chapels and splendid mosques where the daily five prayers can be prayed."⁽²⁾ At Saimur, probably Cheul about thirty miles south of Bombay, were 10,000 Musalmáns chiefly from the Persian Gulf. Ibn-i-Haṅkal (A.D. 943) found mosques at Anhilaváda, Cam-bay and Sindán; and Al-Idrisi (A.D. 1070—1100) says Nahrwála (Anhilaváda) was frequented by large numbers of Musalmán traders.⁽³⁾ These traders, who came mostly from the Persian Gulf, established themselves in considerable numbers in the chief Gujarát cities. Encouraged to settle by the Rajput kings of Anhilwáda, they were treated with much consideration and allowed to manage their affairs, to practise their religion and to build mosques.⁽⁴⁾ During the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when much of the Konkan was in the possession of the Bahmani and Bijapur kings, a fresh impulse was given to immigration, both from the increased importance of places of trade, and from the demand for Arab and Persian soldiers. As late as the Maráthás the services of Arab seamen were still in demand.⁽⁵⁾ The Konkani Musalmáns of Bombay, generally known among Musalmáns by the term Kufis, seem, as the name shows, to have come to India from the Euphrates valley, and to belong to the same wave of Arab settlers who are known as Naváyats. The tradition of the people and the accounts of many Musalmán historians agree that the bulk of them fled to India from the Euphrates valley about the year 700 (82 A.H.) to escape massacre at the hands of the fierce governor Hajjáj bin Yusuf.⁽⁶⁾

The foreign elements mentioned above were further augmented by Musalmán invaders from the north of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and by foreign Musalmán soldiers, traders, refugees and slaves who kept flocking into Gujarát both by land and sea from the end of the

(1) Elliot's History, 1—4.

(2) Meynard's Prairies d'Or, 1—382.

(3) Elliot's History, 1, 5, 24, 27, 34, 38, 88, and Reinaud's Memoire sur l' Inde, 220.

(4) Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part II, p. 2, footnote 1.

(5) In 1683 the Company's merchantman President was, off Sangameshawar, attacked by two ships and four grabs. The crew were Arabs who said they were in Sambhaji's pay. Orme's His. Frag., 120.

(6) Bom. Gaz., Vol., X, p. 133, footnote I.



thirteenth century.⁽¹⁾ Most of them came singly and were absorbed into the general Musalmán population. In modern times three events have, on a somewhat larger scale, added to the foreign element of the Musalmán population. These are, towards the close of the eleventh century, the arrival from Yaman in Arabia, with a band of followers, of the religious head of the Shiáh trading Bohorás; about the middle of the seventeenth century the establishment at Surat of the Janjira Sidis as admirals of the Mughal fleet; and during the eighteenth century the influx of Arab missionaries and of several bands of Persian political refugees.⁽²⁾

Hindu converts of the second class are described shortly under MINOR MUSALMAN CASTES. Others will be found referred to under the article dealing with the parent Hindu caste. It may be observed here that it is almost impossible to secure accurate statistics of these Musalmán divisions at the time of a census. Many caste members will simply style themselves Musalmán. Others will return themselves under the general term of Shaikh, which is used to denote any Hindu convert, and thus totally to obscure the fact that they belong to a caste such as Atár, Nálband, etc. Where figures are given therefore, for the minor Musalmán castes this must be taken as every little evidence of the real extent of the Sub-division. Musalmán pregnancy, birth, betrothal, marriage and death rites are given below.

Preg-
nancy.
The exor-
cist Amil.

The Urdu proverb *Margae mardud, na fatiha na darud*: Here lies the wretch eternally damned without the *Fatiha* or the *Darud*⁽³⁾ shows the horror felt by the Musalmán at the prospect of leaving no issue to perform these ceremonies on his behalf. His desire for the immortality given by children, especially by male children, is much akin to the Hindu hankering after issue to save him from the hell of oblivion by performing his *shráddha* or mind feast. After a year or two of married life, if their union is not blessed by issue, some Musalmán women resort to remedies to obtain children. Saints, living or dead, are appealed to, the former to bless by giving charms or medicines to the wife who yearns to be a mother. The law doctors or exorcists also give charms, written on a piece of paper to wash in rose-water and drink.

Some *Amils* or exorcists give their applicants cardamoms or cloves or pieces of candied sugar on which the mystic and powerful names of God have been blown. These are supposed to possess the virtue of casting out the spirit of barrenness, since as a rule barrenness

(1) Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part II, p. 3, footnote 1.

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part II, p. 3, footnote 2.

(3) *Fatiha* is the opening chapter of the Kurán in praise of God, *Darud* the calling down of blessings on the Prophet.



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is believed to be due to spirit-possession. Others direct strands of thread to be worn round the abdomen or the neck; others again simply write or trace some name or charm of words with the tip of the finger over the womb of the woman or the loins of the man. The exorcist or *Amil* has also to help after conception to secure that the issue may be male. He gives charms to be washed and drunk every month or some written charm to be washed in water for a monthly bath. Some dead saints have a reputation as child-givers. To tie knots on bits of string or ribbon with one end attached to a post or pillar supporting a canopy over a saint's grave or to a trellis or balustrade around a shrine is considered by barren women one of the surest means of obtaining issue. Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari*, 267, note 1, paragraph 3) notices that the tomb of Shaikh Salim-i-Chishti at Fatehpur Sikhri, in whose house the Emperor Jehángir (A.D. 1605—1627) was born, is up to the present day visited by childless Hindu and Musalman women. A tree in the compound of the saint Sháh-i-Alam of Ahmedábád yields a peculiar acorn-like fruit which is sought after far and wide by issue-seekers and carried away and given to their wives, who eat the fruit, and from the moment the fruit is eaten, conceive. If the birth of a child follows the eating of the acorn, the man or woman who took the acorn should for a certain number of years come at every anniversary of the saint and nourish the tree with a supply of milk. The leaves of the tree near the grave of the Mirán Sáheb of Unjha are also said to favour conception. In addition to these, jasmin and rose bushes at the shrines of certain saints are supposed to possess issue-giving properties. To draw virtue from the saint's jasmin, the woman who yearns for a child bathes and purifies herself and goes to the shrine and seats herself under or near the jasmin bush with her skirt spread out. As many flowers as fall into her lap so many children will she have. In north Gujarát, if after the birth of a child no male issue follows, or being born does not live, the first-born child is believed to be the cause of the evil. The first-born is looked on as possessed by some malignant spirit who destroys the young lives of the new-born brothers and sisters. So at the mother's next confinement molasses and sesame seed are passed seven or nine times over the new-born infant from head to foot, and the elder boy or girl is given these to eat. The molasses represent the life of the young one given to the spirit who possesses the first-born. Children born deformed or with one or two teeth are supposed to exercise a baneful influence over their parents and near relatives. A child born with teeth is believed to exercise so malignant an influence that the early death of one of the parents is almost certain.

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If the treatment of the live, or the relics of the dead, saint result in pregnancy the greatest care is taken that no baneful influences interfere with a safe delivery. The lady is made to wear a number of charms and always to carry a knife or other piece of iron. She must not go out of doors, especially on new-moons and Thursdays, and on all days at sunset must avoid groves and the sea and river side. Charmed silk threads called *bhárdori*, literally the spirit-laden cord, are worn round her waist and abdomen, and, especially if any portion of the period of her pregnancy falls on or about the days of *Diváli*, which is considered an evil spirit-time, she requires the greatest care. She is not allowed to go under the *mándwa* or alcove built before a house on marriage or other festive occasions. She must avoid marriage or death ceremonies, must not pass under the city gates, and must cross no river or sea. During eclipses of the sun and the moon particular care must be taken that neither she nor her husband, nor even the relatives of her husband, eat or drink or smoke or cut or clip or break anything. If any of them eat a *pán* or betel-leaf or even fold a *pán* the child is sure to be born with ears folded like a '*pán*' leaf: if the relation cuts or clips anything the child is sure to have a deformed finger or a hare-lip.

The *bhárdori* or weight that is the spirit-laden cord, in the sense of the ill-luck imprisoning cord, is regarded as a preservation of the child from conception to delivery. It is a seven-braided piece of silk upon which the Mulla or exorcist spends time and trouble, repeating over it verses of the Kurán or charms and tying a knot at each repetition, making the number of knots correspond with the number of pregnancy months and giving the silk to be wound round the womb. The braids are particoloured white, red, green, black and fine variations of these leading colours. This silk cord is a guard against miscarriage and all the evils, spiritual as well as physical, that cause miscarriage. At the end or beginning of the ninth month the braid is unwound and some incense is burned under it and together with some flowers it is thrown into an unused well, or, if no well is at hand, into a river or a lake or other water. During the period of pregnancy the woman may not wear new clothes, jewels, even bangles, the symbol of married life which the married woman holds most sacred. All the usual adornments of the person otherwise considered necessary are during pregnancy laid aside and looked upon as forbidden. No eyelid is darkened with antimony, no finger or toe-tip, no palm or sole is reddened with henna, no tooth is blackened with *missi*, and certain kinds of food are forbidden. The pregnant lady is not to touch a cocoa-kernel, nor to taste any underground root except the onion.



potato. The ban against ornaments lasts till the *satmāsa* or seventh month celebration.

After the last pregnancy ceremony the wife goes to her father's Birth-house and stays there till her confinement is over. Among the rich and middle classes the servant who first brings his master news of the birth of a child gets a present of Re. 1 to Rs. 2. Soon bands of musicians and the hated *hijdas* or eunuchs ⁽¹⁾ crowd round the house on the lookout for gifts. Some peculiar customs are observed at the birth of a child. No sooner does the stranger appear than the midwife or *dai* announces its sex. If a boy she says, nominally to save the mother a shock of happy surprise, but at heart to deceive the evil spirits of jealousy, "It is only a girl blind of one eye." If a girl is born, the fact is stated since the birth of a girl can cause no jealousy. Boy or girl, the new born child is laid in a bamboo *supla* or winnowing-fan while the more pressing needs of its mother are being ministered to. A piece of new red cloth is wound rather tightly round the little one's head and the young one is ready to hear the *takbir* or call to prayer. That its Creator's name may be the first word it hears, the father, as soon as the child is bathed, repeats in its ear the call to prayer, *azān*, beginning with the words Allāh-o-Akbar God is great. ⁽²⁾ As soon as the first bath is over pieces of black-thread are wound rather tightly round the child's wrists and ankles as its first armour against the evil eye. Its eyes or rather eyelids are stained with soot made of *ghi* and lampblack, its eyebrows are pencilled with soot, dots of lampblack are made on its little cheeks, palms and sole and a lock of its hair is gummed or waxed so that any one with an evil eye feeling them or looking at them may not meet an even glossy surface. Every morning and evening frankincense and the *rāi-ispanā*, corruptly termed *rai-band*, that is mustard ⁽³⁾ and henna seed, is passed seven or nine times over the mother and the child from head to foot, and, thrown into the fireplace and burned. Often red

(1) The eunuchs beat a drum and sing, while one of their numbers, with the help of a pad or pillow, acts the part of a woman with child, in child-birth, and nursing. At Ahmedābād not only the *Hijdas* but some of the *Bhawayyās* or Hindu strolling players claim presents on the birth of a boy with a pertinacity that is not satisfied till the whole of their demand is paid. The person claiming the gift is generally the clown or fool of the troop. He does not dance or sing, but by his obstreperous sallies of coarse abuse tries to make his stay so annoying that to get rid of him no expense is thought too great. To avoid the nuisance some people satisfy his demands at his house by sending him a present of eight annas or a rupee.

(2) Occasionally at the time of birth a Brāhman is called and told to draw up a horoscope. He chooses certain letters, with one of which the child's name should begin. The paper is kept by the parents of the child and referred to on great occasions. The Brāhman is paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 20.

(3) In his Urdu Dictionary Forbes says the seed of the henna plant is burnt at marriages to drive away evil spirits. Henna seed mixed with mustard seed is also burnt after a child is born, particularly at the door, to prevent demons from entering.



Musalman]

80

realpatidar.com

chilly seeds are thrown into the fire, especially to judge whether an ailment of the child is physical or spirit-caused. If the burning of the chillies creates no pungent vapour, a spirit is surely the cause of the disease. If the burning chilly has its proper pungent smell the ailment is natural. Sometimes a piece of alum is burned with the mustard-seed, the burning alum swelling into fantastic forms which to the wise show the sex of the person who owns the evil eye. During the five days before the *chatti* or sixth-day celebration no fire or salt or water is to be given to any one from the house in which a woman is confined. To accustom the child to noise a copper or brass dish is struck at his ear before the father repeats to him the *takbir* or call to prayer. To harden the child cold water is sprinkled over him before his bath.

Naming.

Early in the morning of the sixth-day the child is named. The father, grandfather or other male relative opens the Kurán at a venture, and the first letter of the first word of the third line is the initial of the child's name.⁽¹⁾ Sometimes a name is chosen because it had

(1) The class of names recommended by the Prophet are the slave or servant of Alláh or servant of the most Merciful, Abd-ulláh or Abd-ur-Rehman. Among Sayads, boys' names generally end in Ali, as *Ahmad-ali*, *Akbar-ali*, *Mumtaz-ali*, or in *Husain* as *Fazl Husain*, and sometimes though rarely in *Sháh*, as *Muhammad Sháh* and *Taj-Sháh*. Among *Shaikhs*; boys are called *Umar Usmán*, *Muhammad*, *Mahmud*, *Husain*, *Ghulám-husain*, *Ghulám-ali*, *Gulmám-ahmed*. These names are common in all families. The following are used almost solely in families of good position: *Shams-ud-din*, *Moin-ud-din*, *Saadullah*, *Fazhullah*, and the like. The names of *Shaikhs* are preceded either by the word *Muhammad* or *Shaikh* as *Muhammad Asadullah* or *Shaikh Ghulam Ali*. Among *Mughals*, boys are called *Amir*, *Muhammad*, *Hasán*, *Husain* and *Ali*, the word *Mirza* always preceding and *Beg* following the name. *Pathán* boys have the same names as *Mughal* boys, only there is no *Mirza* and *Khán* is added instead of *Beg*. The commonest names for women are for all classes and grades, taken from the Kurán, such as *Fatímah*, *Khadijah*, or *Aishah*. Among the higher *Musalmán* families such Arabic phrases as best of women *Khair-un-nisa*, Noblest of women *Amir-un-nisa*, or Moon of women *Badra-un-nisa* are commonly used. Among *Sayads* a woman's name is followed by *Begam*; among *Shaikhs* by *Bibi*; among *Mughals* by *Khanam*; and among *Pathans* by *Khán*. Besides these parents who have lost children or whose children do not live give curious names showing deformity or the most abject humility. *Naththu*, literally nose-bored, is a name which accompanies the actual boring of the nose of the new born child on the principle of deforming the child and so making it less liable to spirit attacks. Another name is *Punju* or *Kachra*, that is, refuse. Sometimes when a child is born after the death of several children the child is thrown into a grain-winning fan *supla* with a lot of dirt or refuse and the fan is dragged outside the door with the child in it and made over to some other member of the family as whose property the child re-enters the house. After his ride in the winnowing-fan the child is named, *Ghasita*, that is, The Dragged. If he is a *Pathán* this becomes *Ghasitkhán*, if a *Sayad* or *Shaikh* *Mir* or *Shaikh Ghasu* or *Bhisu*, names which occur among all ranks of Muslim and Hindu society in *Gujarát*. These old naming practices have their root in the belief that untimely births or the death of the new-born are due to the anger or jealousy of uneasy family ghosts, chiefly of women who have died in child-birth with the main object of life unfulfilled. To this belief there attaches the further experience that the unfriendly ghost is easily outwitted. The ghost or other spirit on the lookout for the soul or life of the new-born hears the child is deformed or worthless and so turns its mind to some more gainful mischief. Further the ill will of the ghost is not towards the child but to the child's father or mother. The ghost's aim is to harm the child of the father or the mother; against the aunt's child the ghost has no manner or grudge. This is similar to the Jewish custom according to which the infant Joseph was supposed to steal a sash of one of his aunt's, which being found on his person he was according to patriarchal law claimed by his aunt for a certain number of years. See Sale's Translation of the Kurán, Chapter XII, 196, note (6).



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been borne by one of the child's forefathers or because the giver thinks it lucky. In the evening of the same day the husband's kindred bringing gold or silver anklets or necklaces, money or clothes, go to the wife's father's house. Sweet cakes are distributed, and, after sunset, the husband gives a dinner to the wife's relations. In the women's rooms the child and its mother are dressed in their best and the midwife makes a six cornered lamp of flour with as many wicks as corners. This is lighted, fed with clarified butter, and kept in a plate along with parched rice or millet *jowári*, and fruit. The presents brought by the husband's friends are now offered and a few small silver coins are given to the midwife. The young mother is then led to a casement and made to count even stars. When this is over, the husband's people return to their homes. The sixth-day ceremony includes another propitiation of the female relatives that have died in child-birth. Food untouched by unclean persons is cooked and the *Fatiha* repeated for the souls of women who have thus died, and the food is distributed to the poor. The value of the presents made by the husband's friends would, in the case of a rich family, vary from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50, and from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 in the case of a middle class family. Among the poor, silver necklaces *hansli*, or anklets *kadián*, and a pair or so of ornamented shirts worth Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 are sometimes given.

On the seventh, fourteenth or twenty-first day after birth comes Sacrifice the purely Muhammadan and by all classes carefully kept rite of sacrifice *akika*. In this rite there are two parts, the shaving of the child's head and the killing of one or two goats. If the child is a girl, one goat, and if the child is a boy, two goats, are bought. Some friends are asked and a barber is called. When all is ready the father of the child, or some one specially named by him, at a given sign, as the barber passes the razor along the head of the child, draws a knife across the goat's throat saying, "I sacrifice this animal or animals for the child named *Wali*, blood for blood, skin for skin, flesh for flesh, hair for hair." When the shaving is over, the child's hair and nails are laid on a flat half-baked cake and carried away to be thrown into a river. The barber goes round among the men guests and each drops a small coin into his cup. Before they leave, the guests are entertained at dinner.⁽¹⁾

(1) In preparing the goat for cooking none of its bones may be broken. The bones must be separated from the flesh and buried. The flesh and skin are divided into three shares. One share is given in charity, a second is distributed among friends, and the rest, except that the child's father and mother may not join, is eaten by relations.

realpatidar.com



Musalman]

82

realpatidar.com

Fortieth day.

On the fortieth day, in honour of the mother's recovery, *nâos* or grass boats of the same kind as those made by the water-carrier for the seventh-month pregnancy ceremonies, are with music taken to the nearest water, a lamp is lighted, and the boat set adrift as a thank-offering to Khâja Khizr or Elias.⁽¹⁾ The father of the child's mother presents her with clothes and the child with some small quilts and a cradle.

Salt Testing

When the child is four and a half months old and able to take food stronger than milk, comes the ceremony of mutton sucking *botan*, or, as the Persians call it, salt-tasting *namak-chashi*. Friends bring the child presents of clothes worth Re. 1 to Rs. 5. In the evening dressed in his best, the child is offered by his father's sisters some rice and milk *khir*, on a rupee,⁽²⁾ and after the rice and milk is given a piece of flesh to suck.

Birth day.

The child's first birthday *sâlgirâh* is the next time for merry-making.⁽³⁾ As a rule only female relations are asked. These come and in the women's quarters pass the day in feasting and the night, except in some strict higher class families, in playing the drum *dhol*, and singing. Sometimes men also are asked, given a dinner, and afterwards entertained by professional musicians. Before they leave each of the guests gives the child Re. 1 to Rs. 5. This birthday feast is given only by the rich and by some of the middle class. Poor families do not give it.

Initiation.

When a child, whether a boy or a girl, has reached the age of four years four months and four days comes *bismillâh*, the taking the Name of God, a ceremony no Muhammadan neglects. On this day a rich man will feast from a hundred to two hundred guests. In the evening after the dinner is over, the child, covered by a skilfully woven flower-sheet called *sehra* is taken to the men's room, where the priest *mulla*, the guests, and a band of young children are waiting. The child is seated on a rich cushion or *masnad*, sweetmeats are laid before it, and of these, two covered with gold-paper are given to it, and after the priest, the child repeats the opening chapter of the Kurân.

(1) Khâja Khizr is the water genius, the Patriarch Elias, skilled in divination who discovered and drank the water of life.

(2) Though from this time he takes other food besides milk, the child is not weaned till he is twenty-one months old. This is according to a precept from Kurân: From bearing to weaning let thirty months pass

(3) The word *sâlgirâh* or yearly knot owes its origin among Indian Musalmâns to the Mughal practice of the emperor's mother keeping a silken string in the *harem* and adding a knot for each year of the emperor's life. Blochmann's *Ain-i Akbari*, 262. notel.

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Musalman]

84

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Marriage rules

Marriage is prohibited to the ordinary near relations, but not between first cousins. A man cannot marry his foster-mother or foster-sister, unless the foster brother and sister were nursed by the same women at intervals widely separated. A man may not marry his wife's sister during his wife's life-time unless she has been divorced. A Muhammadan cannot marry a polytheist, but he may marry a Jewess or a Christian. Polygamy is permitted to the number of four wives, but is rare in practice. Divorce is at the option of the husband, but is rare among the gentler classes, both the parties to it being looked upon with opprobrium. A divorcer finds it hard to marry a second time, and a woman once divorced tries as far as she can to shun matrimony for the rest of her life on the grounds of the homely Zenánáh proverb : by changing the bed, fate cannot be altered. The dislike, almost loathing, with which an Indian Musalmán looks upon divorce is so great that one of the strongest of his oaths is : *May she who has given me birth be thrice divorced if I do so.*

Of the three forms of divorce two are easily recalled ; but in the third, which is called the severer *báyin*, when the word divorce is repeated three several times it is final until the wife has married and is again free. After divorce a woman cannot marry for three months called the *iddat* or term during which the husband is bound to maintain her.

Marriage cere- monies.

Boys are generally married between sixteen and twenty-two and girls between ten and eighteen. When their sons reach manhood, parents generally consult professional matchmakers or go between, women free to enter the houses even of the strictest. Some girl likely to make a good match is before long chosen, and the women of the lad's family pay a visit at the girl's home. After seeing her and talking together, the guests are offered a glass of sugared water. This they drink if they think well of the girl, but if they think she will not suit, they decline. After drinking, in sign that they ask her in marriage, they drop some sugarcandy into the girl's mouth. Then they talk of ornaments and fix the day for the betrothal. On the betrothal day, both at the boy's and girl's houses, there is a meeting of kindred. In the evening at the boy's house ornaments and sweetmeats are laid out on neatly covered trays and are generally sent to the girl's house with music. With the presents go the women of the bridegroom's family and a gay procession of children of their relations and friends. On reaching the bride's house the men and children who formed the procession sit in a booth outside of the house, or, if there is no booth, in some part of the house prepared for their reception. Here *sherbat* sugared water is handed round, the person



Musalman]

102

realpatidar.com

Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but are seldom religious or careful to say their prayers.

BOJGARS, or Millet-beer Brewers, local converts of mixed Hindu origin, notably of Bhois, are found in small numbers in Belgaum and Sholápur. They marry amongst themselves, and form a distinct community with a headman of their own. They are liquor-sellers, labourers, fishers and palanquin-bearers.

CHATLAS are a wandering tribe occasionally found in north Gujarát. Of their origin nothing has been traced. They are wood-cutters, bringing in firewood from the forests and acting as carriers. They are Musalmáns only in name, and know nothing of their religion. They believe that the dead become saints *pirs*. Every year, on the anniversary of the Pir's death, the family calls the tribe to the tomb, and gives a feast of wine, mutton and pork. They bury the dead standing, building a raised tomb two feet square and in the centre a square altar half a foot higher. They feed even on carcasses.

CHHARAS, also called Ghágariás or Petticoat People, are occasionally found in small numbers all over Gujarát. They are supposed to be converted Hindus, but of their origin nothing certain is known. During the rains they meet in one place, holding their marriage and other family ceremonies, and settling their disputes. At the beginning of the fair season they break up into bands, moving about with Brinjári dogs and donkeys, begging, stealing and passing counterfeit coin. They are Musalmáns only in name, and know nothing of their religion. They have a union and headman called *náik*.

CHUDIWALAS, Bracelet-makers, are found in all parts of Gujarát. They make and sell bracelets of glass and lac or tin, some of the tin being ornamented with borders of gold and brass leaf. They are Sunnis in religion, some knowing the Kurán and saying their prayers. They marry with other Musalmáns. They form a well-ordered body, but have no headman.

CHUNDADIGIRAS, Silk-knot-Printers, are found all over Gujarát. They claim to be of Arab descent, and to have come into Gujarát through Sind; but most of them are probably of Hindu origin. They form a distinct community marrying only among themselves. Both men and women make patterns in cloth by gathering the silk in puckers and rosettes and knotting it. In Surat, they also dye. Some are in Government service as messengers and constables. Sunnis in faith, they are zealous for their religion, some, both men and women, knowing the Kurán. They have a union but no headman.



DALALS, or Brokers, are found in small numbers in Ahmednagar city. They were originally *sipáhis* or soldiers from the Nizám's country. They marry either among themselves or with any of the regular Musalmán classes. They act as brokers only in horse sales. They are Hanafi Sunnis, but seldom say their prayers.

DALDIS or fishermen, found chiefly in the Ratnágiri *táluka* of the Ratnágiri district and the Janjira State have the tradition that their forefathers came in ships from across the seas. Their appearance and position among the local Musalmáns would seem to make it probable that they are partly converted Hindus, probably Kolis, and partly the descendants of immigrant Musalmáns and slave girls. According to Major Jervis ⁽¹⁾ they are a race of people descended from the Arabian colonists who settled on the western coast in the seventh or eighth century and correspond with the Moplás of Malabár. They marry only among themselves or with other poor Konkani families. Their manners and customs do not differ for those of Jamátis. They are Sunnis of the Sháfai school but few of them are religious or careful to say their prayers. Some are sailors and cultivators and some go to Bombay in search of work. Others make and sell nets and rope of all sorts, and most of those in Ratnágiri are fishermen differing little from Hindus in their way of fishing.

DARVESHIS, literally religious beggars, seem to be converts, perhaps of the Shikári caste. They are a class of wandering bear and tiger showmen. They marry either among themselves or with any other religious beggars, and form a separate community and settle social disputes at meetings of the men under a headman or *Sargiro*, who has the power of fining any one who breaks their caste rules. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but are not religious. Their only connection with the Kázi is that they employ him as marriage registrar.

DHAVADS, or Iron-smelters, numbering 388 (1901), including 183 males and 255 females, are chiefly found in the Mahábleshwar hills in the Sátára district. They are said to represent local Kolis converted by Aurangzeb. They marry among themselves and form a separate community, and have a well-managed body under their elective headman or *pátíl*, who settles their social disputes with the consent of the castemen, and punishes those who break the caste rules with fines which generally take the form of caste feasts. They smelt the iron which is found in laterite or iron clay hills. But partly from

(1) Statistics of Western India, pp. 14-15.



the growing scarcity of fuel and partly from the cheapness of foreign iron and hardware goods, their iron smelting has nearly ceased. They live by cutting and selling grass, gathering honey, and making and selling iron nails, tongs and frying pans. Except that they call themselves Hanafi Sunnis, circumcise their sons, and ask the Kázi to register their marriages, they have few Musalmán customs. They keep Hindu feasts, eschew beef, and worship Hindu gods.

DHULDHOYAS, Dust-washers, are found in considerable numbers all over Gujarát, but chiefly in Nadiád and Mehamadábád. They numbered 444 at the Census of 1891, but were not recorded separately at the Census of 1901. They are said to be converted Hindus of the Khatri caste. They have a story that once, when their earnings as weavers were low, they were blessed by a beggar and told that in future they would find gold in dust. The men buy dust and other rubbish from the houses of goldsmiths, wash and sift it, and carefully pick out the particles of gold or silver found in the refuse. They marry only among themselves, and form a separate body with a headman of their own. Sunnis in faith, they are, as a class, religious, knowing the Kurán and saying their prayers.

DUDHVALAS, Milkmen, also called Gádits or Cartmen, and from their former castes Sábaliás and Gavlis, are found in all parts of Gujarát, especially in Ahmedabad and Baroda. They are said to be converted Hindus chiefly of the Sábalia and the Gavli castes. They marry only among themselves and form a separate community with a headman. They sell milk and hire out carts. They are Sunnis in name, but are not religious. As among Hindus, the women join in the marriage procession, singing Gujaráti songs, and at deaths wailing and beating the breast.

GAMETIS, Holders of a village or *gám*, are found in Gujarát. Except in the size of their estates, they do not differ from Kasbátis, with whom they intermarry.

GHERMEHDIS, Disbelievers in Mehdi or the coming Imám, are found in small numbers in most parts of Gujarát, in Bombay, Ahmednagar, Sholápur and Belgaum. They consider the name Ghermehdi abusive and delight in calling themselves Mehdevis. Their chief settlements, which are known as *dairah*, are in Pálanpur, Ahmednagar and Hyderabad (Deccan) where they live apart from other Musalmáns. The Pálanpur Mehdevis call themselves Sayads and Pirzadáhs.



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Ghermehdis are converted Hindus and foreign Musalmáns, the followers of a certain Muhammad Mehdi, a descendant of Husain the grandson of the Prophet, born in A.D. 1443 (H. 847) in Jaunpur, a town near Benares. Muhammad at the age of forty began to act as a saint *wali*, and both at Jaunpur and afterwards at Mecca, drew around him a large body of followers. On his return to India, at Ahmedabad in A.D. 1497 (H. 903) and at Pattan in A.D. 1499 (H. 905), he openly laid claim to be the looked for Mehdi. Throughout his career he is said to have performed many miracles. He travelled much, accompanied by two companions, and died in Farah, a city of Khurasan, in A.D. 1504 (H. 910), maintaining to the last that he was the promised Mehdi. After his death his disciples dispersed, part returning to Gujarát under Sayad Khodmir. For a time his followers in Gujarát remained unmolested, but later on they were persecuted and their leader put to death, and during the time of Aurangzeb they were greatly repressed.

Though free to profess their opinions, the Mehdevis still practise caution *takiyah* and are anxious to pass as orthodox Musalmáns. They hold that Muhammad their saint was the last Imám, the expected Mehdi. They marry only among themselves. In Gujarát they have no headman, but form circles *dairahs* governed by rules of their own. In Ahmednagar, they have a distinct organization under a headman named *Murshid* or instructor, who registers marriages, and punishes breaches of caste rules. By occupation they are constables, messengers, servants and husbandmen.

GORKHODIAS, Grave-diggers, found in small numbers in all parts of Gujarát, are of mixed origin, partly foreign, partly Hindu. They hold a very low position, marry among themselves, and have no union or headman. Sunnis in religion, some of them learn the Kurán but are not regular in saying their prayers.

HAKIMS or Practitioners, also called Pahelwáns or Wrestlers, are found in small numbers in Bijápur. They call themselves Shaikhs. The men practise medicine without any training or learning, and the women act as midwives and songstresses in marriage and other ceremonies. They do not form an organized body and are only a nominal community marrying among the general classes of Musalmáns and differing little from them in customs and manners.

HUSAINI BRAHMANS ⁽¹⁾ call themselves followers of the Atharwa Veda. They take their title from Husain, the grandson of

(1) In the Deccan there is a caste named Hussaini Bráhmans or Sahadev Joshi, who are astrologers and beggars by profession and Hindu by religion. realpatidar.com



the Prophet, in whose name they ask alms. They are not converts to Islám, but adopt such of its doctrines as are not contrary to the Hindu faith. Their head-quarters are at Ajmir, and they are found in Baroda and Ahmedabad. They are of the lawless *besharra* group of beggars. Except beef, they eat secretly the ordinary kinds of animal food. Besides by begging, they earn a living by practising astrology and palmistry. They believe in the Saint Khajah Muin-ud-din Chishti of Ajmir, and consult both Muhammadan and Hindu omens. Except that they wear the Hindu browmark *tila*, that they often give their children Hindu names, that they do not circumcise, that a priest of their own class marries them, and that their dead are buried sitting, their customs, even to observing the *Ramzán* fast, are Muhammadan.

JAMA'TIS or members of the community, the leading branch of Konkani Musalmáns, are chiefly Shaikhs. Some families call themselves Kháns, but it seems probable that they are not of Afghán descent, but are the representatives of successful soldiers who won the title of Khán. They are found chiefly in the Kolába and Ratnágiri districts. Their home speech is Konkani Maráthi with a slightly peculiar pronunciation and a mixture of Urdu, Persian and Arab words. As a rule the men do not prefix Shaikh to their names, but add a surname taken either from their calling, as Khot, Kázi or Chogale, or from the dwelling place, as Tamrolkar and Tungekar. Their women add Bibi to their names. They generally marry among relations and in their own community. It is thought degrading to marry with any other class of Musalmáns. In religion all are Sunnis of the Sháfai school, but few are religious or careful to say their prayers. Some are land holders holding estates granted them as *kázis* or as preachers and others have villages which they originally took in farm. Some trade with Bombay in rice and timber and some in salt; others hold posts as forest inspectors and police chief constables. Some are sailors. The majority of the poorer families work as husbandmen and field labourers. Except that at marriages a dough lamp, filled with clarified butter lit is, by the women, carried to a river, pond or well, and left there, and that for five Thursdays after a death dinners are given to relations and friends, their ceremonies do not differ from those of other Musalmáns.

KAFSHGARS, or Shoe-makers, are found in small numbers in the cities and cantonments of Poona and Sholápur. They are said to be descended from strangers from Kabul who came to the Deccan during Musalmán rule. They make the yellow or red broadcloth



shoes which are generally worn by Musalmán married women. They marry either among themselves or take wives from any of the regular Musalmán communities. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and obey the Kázi, but are not careful to say their prayers.

KAGZIS, Paper-markers, numbering 544 (1901), including 283 males and 261 females, are found chiefly in north Gujarát, and scattered in small numbers in some parts of the Deccan. They make and sell the strong coarse country paper for which Ahmedabad has long been famous. They marry only among themselves and, under their spiritual guide, form a distinct body. Sunnis by religion, they believe in Sháh-Gharif-un-nawáz of Nandurbár in Khándesh, and those in Gujarát are followers of the Chishtis of Ahmedabad.

KAKARS, numbering 122 at the Census of 1891, and not recorded separately at the Census of 1901, are found chiefly in Belgaum, Dhárwár, and Bijápur. They originally belonged to the Kákarzáhi tribe of the Afgháns. According to their own story, about the middle of the eighteenth century they came to India as mercenaries of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, and in 1758, on the defeat of the Abdáli governor of Sirhind by Raghunáthráo, wandered in bands through Malwa, the United Provinces and Gujarát, leading the life of outlaws. At last, hearing of the rise of Hyder Ali's power in Mysore, they joined him, and remained in his service in a mounted battery till the fall of Tipu in 1799. They marry only among themselves and are a well-organized community with a headman styled *Jamádár*. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and some of them are religious and careful to attend prayers at the mosque. The men are servants, messengers and grooms, and the women sell poultry and head-loads of fuel.

KALAIGARS, or Tinsmiths, are found in small numbers throughout the Deccan and Karnátak. They call themselves Shaikhs. They marry either among themselves or with any of the regular classes of Musalmáns, and are a well-organized community under an elective headman called *Chaudhari*. They are Hanafi Sunnis in religion, and many of them are religious and careful to say their prayers. They tin copper and brass vessels, and are chiefly employed by Musalmáns and Christians.

KALANDARS, or Monks, are found in small numbers all over Gujarát. They wander over the country begging, and are very sturdy and troublesome in their demands. They are Sunnis of the lawless *besharra* order. They shave the whole body, the shearing of the eyebrows being one of the most important initiatory rites.



KAMLIAS, the perfect, were recorded as numbering 4 in Ahmedabad and Mahi Kántha at the Census of 1901. They are sprung from Kanoja Bráhmaṇ worshippers of Bahucheráji, who were converted by the Musalmán emperor Ala-ud-din (A.D. 1297). Their name is derived from *Kamál* or perfect, the title given to their headman when converted to Islám. When they go to Bahucheráji they beg in the name of the goddess. They do not circumcise, and except that they brand a dead man's breast and bury him, their ceremonies are Hindu. Some of them are said to be married and have children, others are said to earn a living as eunuchs.

KARALIAS, Potters, are found in Ahmedabad city. They are descendants of Hindus of the Kumbhár or potter caste. They are Sunnis in name, paying little attention to religion. They marry among themselves and with the Kathiárás or wood-cutters. With the Kathiárás they form one body *jamát*, and have a headman to settle disputes. They have a class-lodge *vádi* in Ahmedabad, where during the mango season they hold feasts, enforcing attendance by fine.

KASAIS, or Butchers, also called Kasábs, Khátiks and Sultánis numbering 13,170 (1901), including 6,686 males and 6,484 females, are found all over the Presidency except the Ratnágiri and Thána districts. The name Sultáni is in use only in the Karnátaḱ, and is said to have been given to them because they were converted by Tipu Sultán. Kasáis have two divisions, Gao Kasáb or Gái Kasáb, that is, beef-butchers, and Bakar Kasáb or Lád Kasáb, that is, mutton-butchers, who neither eat together nor intermarry. The Bakar Kasábs look down upon the Gao Kasábs, whose touch they hold impure. Both divisions marry among themselves only, and are well-organized communities with a headman or *Choudhari* chosen from the most respected members. Both are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but in name only. They respect the Kázi and employ him to register their marriages. The Bakar Kasábs have a strong Hindu feeling and eschew beef, worship and offer vows to Hindu gods, and keep Hindu festivals.

KASBATIS, owners of towns or *kasbás*, found in many parts of north Gujarát, are some of them descended from Baluch or Pathán mercenaries and others from Rajput converts. They hold large grants of land, and are quarrelsome and litigious. Sunnis in faith, they are not a religious people; only a few know the Kurán or say their prayers. Occasionally, but of late much more rarely, they marry Hindu wives, Rajputs and sometimes Kolis. At such marriages the



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bride's friends occasionally call in a Bráhmaṇ; in either case the ceremony is entirely Musalmán. They give their daughters only to Musalmáns. They have no headman and do not form a distinct community.

KATHIARAS, Fuel-sellers, are found in Gujarát. They marry with Karáliás and do not differ from them in religion and customs.

KHOKHARS, converted Rajputs of the Khokhár tribe, are found in small numbers in north Gujarát and Káthiáwár. They are said to derive their name from *koh* mountain and *gir* taker, because they once took an impregnable mountain fortress. They are mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* ⁽¹⁾ as a tribe of some importance in Pind Dadan Khán in the Punjab. They claim Afghán extraction, and state that they are still represented by a Khel (tribe) of this name. As far as possible they intermarry among themselves, but do not object to matrimonial connections with the Bábis, Lohánis and other Patháns. They are landholders in Pattan and also perform military service. Some are peasants, labourers and messengers.

LAKARHARAS, or Wood-sellers, are found in small numbers in all parts of the Deccan. In most places they are a mixed population of Shaikhs and a few Sayads. During the reign of Aurangzeb they were joined by a large number of Hindu converts who were either wood-sellers when they were Hindus or took to wood-selling when they became Musalmáns. They sell wood both for building and for fuel. They are Sunnis in name, but are not careful to say their prayers. They form a separate community with one of their number as head, who has power to settle disputes by small fines which go to meet the expenses of the nearest mosque.

MAHAWATS, or Elephant-drivers are said to be Rajput converts. They call themselves Shaikhs. As the demand for elephant-drivers has nearly ceased, they have taken to different callings, working as servants, messengers or constables. They have no special class organization and no headman, and marry with any one of the regular classes of Musalmáns. Most of the men and almost all of the women eschew beef, and have a leaning to Hindu customs, inclining to keep Hindu festivals and believing in Hindu gods. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but few are religious or careful to say their prayers. They respect and obey the Kázi and employ him to register their marriages and settle social disputes.

(1) Blochman's edition, p. 465, note 2.

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MAKWANAS, converts from the Makwána tribe of Rajputs or Kolis, are found over many parts of north Gujarát. Their sons marry either into Musalmán, Makwána or Koli families; their daughters into Musalmán families of the Makwána, Bábi or Dholka Pathán tribes. They employ a Bráhmaṇ priest at their weddings. They are Sunnis in faith, but as a rule care little for their religion. They earn their living as petty landlords, peasants, messengers and constables.

MALIKS (Lords) are converted Hindus and found all over Gujarát. They are landlords and peasants and are employed in Government service as messengers and constables. The women spin, but do not work in the field. They are Sunnis in name but are not religious, few of them knowing the Kurán or caring to say their prayers. In their marriage and other customs they do not differ from other converted Rajputs.

MANYARS or Glass bangle makers, also known as Shishgars, numbering 1,815 (1901) including 904 males and 911 females, are found all over Gujarát and the Deccan and parts of the north Konkan and Karnátak. They are of mixed Hindu origin, and are said to have been converted by Aurangzeb. They marry either among themselves or with any of the regular Musalmáns. They have two divisions, Proper and Bangarharás, who eat together and intermarry. The hereditary occupation of the caste is making bangles of glass, wax and ivory. Chinese and European competition have forced them to give up their old craft, and they have become petty shopkeepers and dealers in hardware and miscellaneous articles. They have no special organization and no headman except the Kázi who settles their social disputes. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but are not religious or careful to say their prayers. Those in Gujarát revere Sháh Alam, the well-known Ahmedabad saint.

MAPARAS, Corn-weighers, are found in all parts of Gujarát. They closely resemble the Manyárs.

MIRS, Nobles or MIRASIS, Landlords, also called Langhás or singers, Dholis or drum-players, and Doms after the tribe of that name, are found all over Gujarát, Káthiawár, Cutch, Pálanpur and Mahikántha. At the census of 1901 they numbered 3,624 including 1,867 males and 1,757 females. They were originally of two classes, one descendants of Gujarát Bháts or bards, the other from northern India partly of Bhát descent and partly connected with the Doms. They marry only among themselves. Some own land, and in the rainy season many work as cultivators. In the fair season the men move



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about either alone or in twos or threes, begging, singing and telling tales, both Hindu and Musalmán, and playing on the drum, the fiddle, the guitar and the tambourine. The women stay at home and under the name of Domnis or Langhis, at marriage and other feasts, attend at Muhammadan houses and play and sing before the women. The Mirs are zealous followers of Dáda Mián, an Ahmedabad Sayad, paying him yearly Re. 1 head-money or forty pounds (one *man*) of wheat. They are a well-managed community with the Sayad as their head.

MIRDHAS, originally spies, are found in very small numbers in north Gujarát. They are said to be of part-foreign part-Rajput origin. Under the Gujarát Sultáns they served as spies. They are now employed as messengers and constables.

MOLESALAMS, found chiefly in Broach and in the Rewa Kántha, are half converts to Islám made from among Rajputs, chiefly in the reign of Mahmud Begada (A.D. 1459—1513). The Molesalám Thákors of Amod and Kerwáda in Broach claim descent from Jádav Rajputs who were converted by Mahmud Begada in A.D. 1486.

Molesalám Thákors and chiefs, while employing Kázis, Sayads and Maulavis, maintain the descendants of their old Bráhmaṇ family priests and support their Bháts and Cháráns, whom the rich engage to wile away their leisure hours by reciting poetry, and the poor to serve as priests at marriages. A Molesalám will marry his daughter to a Sayad, a Shaikh, a Mughal or Bábi, but not, as a rule, to a Musalmán of the lower order. The son of a chief may get a Rajput girl in marriage. But other Molesaláms marry either among their own people or the poorer classes of Musalmáns. Molesaláms dine with other Musalmáns, but except that they sometimes take flesh, they eat and drink like Hindus.

MUSA SUHAGS, followers of Musa with the married woman's dress, are to be found singly all over Gujarát. Their patron saint Musa, who lived at the close of the fifteenth century, according to one account, dressed in woman's clothes as a symbol that he was devoted to god as a wife to her husband. According to another account, Musa was so pressed and worried by the crowd that to hide himself he used to go about dressed as a woman. In memory of their leader's disguise most of the beggars of this order, though they do not shave the beard, dress like married women in a red scarf *dupatta*, a gown and trousers. They also put on bracelets, bell-anklets and other ornaments. They go singly, blessing the people without music or other show. As the dress and vow of celibacy are disliked, the Musa



Musalman]

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112

Suhágs gain few disciples, and as they have no children their numbers are falling.

NAGARJIS or NAKARCHIS, Kettle Drummers, are found in small numbers in Sátára and Bijápur. They marry among themselves only and form a separate community under an elective headman or *chaudhari*. They are employed both by Hindus and Musalmáns at marriages, and on festive occasions at local temples and the shrines of Musalmán saints. Some have taken to tillage. Though in name Sunnis of the Hanafi school, they have strong Hindu leanings, keeping Hindu feasts, eschewing beef, and worshipping Hindu gods. They respect and obey the Kázi and employ him to register their marriages.

NAGORIS, numbering 1,408, including 695 males and 713 females, were recorded at the Census of 1901 in Pálanpur, Mahikántha and Káthiáwár, but they are also found in Ahmedabad, Viramgam, Bhávnagar, Baroda and Broach. They derive their name from Nágór in Malwa, their original home. In Pálanpur they call themselves Kháns from having given up their original occupation of cart-driving and taken to that of arms. They appear to be recruited from many classes from their surnames such as Kázi, Mughal and Shaikh. They marry only among themselves, and form a separate community with a union and a headman chosen by the people. They are Sunnis in name, but as a class the men are not religious. Most of them are cart-drivers. Before railway times they brought goods and people from Malwa to Ahmedabad. Now they go only short distances. The women work as labourers and sell milk.

NAIKWARIS are found in large numbers in Násik, Khándesh and Ahmednagar, and thinly scattered over the other Deccan districts. They are said to be Marátha Kunbis whose forefathers were converted to Islám by Tipu's father Hyder Naik, from whom they take their name. After the fall of Seringapatam they passed north as soldiers of fortune under the Peshwás, and many of them settled at Násik. Náikwáris are generally soldiers, messengers, and constables, and a few are husbandmen. In Ahmednagar and Poona, some of them find employment with bankers as watchmen. Some are Sunnis and some who live in outlying parts keep many Hindu customs, calling a Bráhmaṇ as well as a *Mulla* to their weddings. A few are Wáhábis. They have a well organized community with their most intelligent and respected member as the head.

NAKSHBANDS, Mark-makers, belong to the law-abiding *básharra* order of beggars. They are found in small numbers all over Gujarát. They are followers of a saint named Khájah Bahá-ud-din



Nakshband. Holding in their hand a stout-wicked flaming unshaded brass lamp, which neither rain nor wind can put out, they move about singly chanting their saint's praises. The Nakshband reverence for fire is said to be a trace of the attempted revival of Magiat element worship in Persia and Tartary about A. D. 946 (H. 383), the period of Shiah ascendancy at the court of the Khalifahs of Baghdád during the supremacy of the Persian house of Buwaih or the Bowides. Children are fond of the Nakshband, and go out in numbers to give him money. In return, as his name shows, he marks them on the brow with oil from his lamp. Nakshbands are Sunnis in religion, and as they live only in ones and twos they have little organization.

NALBANDS, or Farriers, are found in small numbers all over Gujarát, the Deccan and Karnátak. They are of mixed Hindu origin, converted by Aurangzeb, and call themselves Shaikhs. They make their living as farriers, messengers and servants. They shoe horses and bullocks. They marry either among themselves or with any of the general classes of Musalmáns. They obey the Kázi and through him settle social disputes. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but are not religious or careful to say their prayers.

NAVAYATS, or Shipmen, numbering 1,273 (1901), including 548 males and 725 females, are found only in the Kanara district. They are also known as Saudágars or traders. They are said to represent Persian merchants who, in the seventh and eighth centuries, left their home on account of the persecutions of the fierce governor Hajaj-bin-Usaf, and came and settled on the Malabar and Kanara coasts: They marry only among themselves and form a separate community, but have no special organization nor headman. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and are very religious and careful to say their prayers. They deal in piece-goods and were formesly well-to-do. They suffered heavily during the 1876—1887 famine when some of them were forced to give up trade and take to husbandry.

PANJNIGARS, or Cotton-thread Starchers, are found all over Gujarát and in Sholápur. They have a division named Hir Pánjnigárs Silk Starchers, with whom they intermarry. Sunnis in name, they are not a religious class. They marry only among themselves and have a well-managed union with a headman.

PIRZADAS are a class of Sayads found in Násik only. They are descended from the saint Sayad Sháh Muhammad Sádik Sarmast Husaini, who, about the close of the tenth century of the Hijra (A. D. 1568), came from Medina, and having travelled over a greater part of Western India, settled at Násik. Many of them are landholders.



Musalman]

114

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Some deal in hay, grain or fuel, some are municipal contractors, and some are money-lenders. They are Sunnis in faith and do not form a separate community.

RAFAIS, that is, exalted, also called Faceslashers *Munhphodás* or *Munhchirás*, occur in considerable numbers over the whole of Gujarat. They are a class of the lawless *besharra* order of beggars. They are followers of Sayad Ahmad Kabir. Holding in the right hand a twelve-inch iron spike called *gurz*, sharp-pointed and having near the top many small iron chains, the beggar rattles the chains, and, if people are slow in giving him money, strikes at his cheek or eye with the sharp iron point and seems to cause no wound. They beg in the name of God, and are very persistent and troublesome. They are Sunnis in religion.

RAFUGARS, or Cloth Darners, are converts of mixed Hindu origin and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzeb. They have no special class organization nor any headman except the regular Kázi, who acts both as marriage registrar and as judge in settling social disputes. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school and are said to be careful to say their prayers. Besides darners many are soldiers, constables and servants.

RASULSHAHIS, followers of the Prophet, also called Mastáns or Madmen, are found in small numbers all over Gujarát. They are Sunnis of the lawless *besharra* order, without wives or settled homes. They carry a large wooden club and beg for money to pay for drink. They are very dissipated and troublesome. They are a very small body with a religious head but no organised community.

RATHORS, converts from the Ráthor tribe of Rajputs, numbering 221 (1901), including 119 males and 102 females, were recorded only in Mahi Kántha, but are to be found in small numbers in different parts of north of Gujarát. They are Sunnis in name, but are not religious, neither learning the Kurán nor saying their prayers. A few of them have Swámináráyan pictures in their houses and reverence them. Their ceremonies are in many respects Hindu. At marriages the larger landlords keep to the Rajput custom of sending a sword to the bride's house and bringing her back for the ceremony to the bridegroom's village. When the bride is a Hindu, both Bráhmaṇ and Musalmán ceremonies are preformed. At deaths the women wail and beat the breast. Except that they marry only among Rajputs and Kólis, either Hindu or Musalmán, they do not form a separate community and have no headman. They earn their living as landlords, peasant and messengers.



SAIKALGARS, Sikalgars, or Sikligars, that is, Armourers, numbering 1,957 (1901), including 1,075 males and 882 females, are found in small numbers all over the Deccan and Karnátak. They are said to represent Hindu Ghisádis and Lohárs converted during the time of Aurangzeb. They marry either among themselves or with Manyárs, Atárs and Patvegárs. They have a headman, called Mukadam in some places and Mehtar in others, who has power to fine any one who breaks their caste rules. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school in name only. They eschew beef, offer vows to Hindu gods, and keep Hindu festivals. They employ the Kázi to register their marriages, but do not show him much respect. They furbish and polish weapons and tools and make razors, knives, pack needles, carpenters' tools, and all sorts of cutlery.

SALTANGARS, Saltánkars or Tanners, are found in small numbers in Poona and Sholápur. They are said to be descended from Hindus of the Chámhbár and Mochi castes, and trace their conversion to Aurangzeb. They marry among themselves only, and have a well-managed union under a headman chosen from the oldest and richest members of the community. Though Sunnis of the Hanafi school, they seldom say their prayers, and have strong Hindu leanings, eschewing beef, offering vows to Hindu gods, and keeping Hindu festivals. They respect and obey the Kázi, but their purely Musalman custom is circumcision. They buy sheep and goat skins from butchers, tan them, and sell them to shoemakers. Their trade has lately suffered much owing to the competition of Mehmans and Labhes from Bombay and Madras.

SARBANS, or Camel Drivers represent converts of several Hindu castes, notably Rajputs. The demand for camel drivers having ceased, they have taken to new pursuits, some earning their living as servants and messengers and others as husbandmen. They marry either among themselves or with any of the ordinary Musalmáns. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but are not religious. Some eschew beef and worship Hindu gods. They obey and respect the Kázi in all matters.

SHAIKHDAS or **SHAIKHS**, found chiefly in Broach and Ahmedabad, are one of the classes of devotees who worship at the shrine of Bála Muhammad Sháh, one of the minor Pirána saints. In their ways they differ little from the Mátiá Kanbis. They bury their dead, but except for this observance and for their name, their customs are Hindu. They are not circumcised, and do not eat with Musalmáns, but wear forehead marks *tilás* and many of them belong to the sect



of the Swámináráyans. At the time of marriage both a Musalmán and a Hindu priest attend. The Musalmán ceremony is performed by a Fakir, and the Hindu rite of *chori* or altar-worship by a Brahman.

SIPAHIS, soldiers, numbering 18,175 (1901), including 9,303 males and 8,872 females, were recorded only in Káthiáwár, but are found in considerable numbers in all parts of Gujarát. They seem to be of mixed origin, partly descendants of immigrants and partly of Rajput converts, as their surnames Chohán, Ráthor and Parmár show. They marry with other Musalmáns, but have a union and a headman. They are husbandmen and labourers, and are employed in Government service as soldiers, constables and messengers. Sunnis in faith, some of them know the Kurán, say their prayers and pay respect to a spiritual guide.

SOLANKIS, converts from the Solanki tribe of Rajputs, are found in small numbers in different parts of north Gujarát. They intermarry with the Ráthors and other converted Rajputs, and do not differ from them in religion and customs.

TAIS, Silk Weavers, numbering 4,787 (1901), including 2,258 males and 2,529 females, are found in all parts of Gujarát. They claim to take their name from Táí, a city between Turkey and Arabia, and to have been taught weaving and sewing by the Prophet Idris. They claim descent from Hatīm of Táí, the famous Arab hero, who flourished immediately before the birth of the Prophet and whose name is proverbial for generosity in Arabia. In Gujarát they are a mixed class, some of them foreigners, who seem to have come from Sind about a thousand years ago, and others are converted Gujarát Hindus. They marry among themselves and form a separate union with a headman of their own. Except in Bulsár, where some families do business as bankers and money-lenders, all weave cotton ropes and turbans. They are Sunnis in faith, and, especially in Ahmedabad and Surat, are a religious class, going to the mosque five times a day.

WARRAKS, or Paper-makers, are found in small numbers in Ahmednagar. They are a branch of Shaikhs, and marry with any of the regular classes of Musalmáns. Most of them are servants and messengers.

MUSA SUHAG.—See under Minor Musalmán Castes.

MUSKIN MALLAVA.—A sub-division of Mallavas.

MUSTIGAR.—A synonym for Khetri.

MUWALLAD.—A sub-division of Sidis.

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